1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'l'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[20] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[20] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

Z: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teŭbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

[P. 368, A]

539 munks, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of these fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild men had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

[513] [237]

2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down (maybe that wild man did something to the fire). Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild men still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES

773 Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely mimimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C, illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

½ [see end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (ltpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (lombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE IV 1/1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

291

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

[End Plate IV]

1/1 [legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawáka·ši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]